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CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS OF THE HOMERIC HYMNS

BY WALTON BROOKS MCDANIEL

AT the present time, when the stackrooms of the larger libraries serve as columbaria for not a few defunct theses dealing with conjectural emendations of Greek texts, a tiro may well feel some hesitation in bringing forward conjectures even in the case of the somewhat less studied Homeric Hymns. There are, however, in these hymns certain places which, starred by successive editors as hopelessly corrupt, cannot fail to challenge the ingenuity of every interested reader of the poems. It is with such passages that the following pages have for the most part to deal. For my manuscript readings I depend upon the edition of Alfred Goodwin.

Let us first consider line 429 in the Hymn to Demeter :

- 426 παίζομεν ἥδ' ἄνθεα δρέπομεν χεῖρεσσ' ἐρόντα,
427 μίγδα κρόκον τ' ἀγανὸν καὶ ἀγαλλίδας ἥδ' ὑάκινθον,
428 καὶ ῥοδέας κάλυκας καὶ λείρια, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι,
429 νάρκισσόν θ', ὃν ἔφυσ' ὥσπερ κρόκον, εὐρέϊα χθών.

Although Ilgen attempted a defence of the manuscript reading ὥσπερ κρόκον, the consensus of other scholars has declared these words unquestionably corrupt. Accordingly, a score or more of conjectures have been published, from which one might select the ὑπείροχον of Ilgen and the αἰπὸν δόλον of Hermann as perhaps most attractive. The theory, however, has apparently been that the ὥσπερ κρόκον arose from a mere corruption of the letters of the genuine reading. A different explanation of the origin of these two words may be offered. Only a few lines above, as well as in verse 372, we have mention of the ῥοιῆς κόκκον which Pluto insidiously gave to Persephone. Is it not possible that a gloss ὥσπερ κόκκον once stood above line 429 to express the writer's view that Earth was responsible for the production not only of the narcissus, which had proven such a treacherous plaything

to Persephone, but also of the pomegranate seed, which had completed the girl's misfortune? Traces of such interlinear notes are found elsewhere¹ in the manuscripts of our hymns. A noteworthy instance is in 4, 254, where for *λίκνῳ*, manuscripts DLΠ give *κλίνῃ*, a word which quite probably stood originally as a gloss above the genuine *λίκνῳ*. So here the gloss *ὥσπερ κόκκον*, becoming quite easily *ὥσπερ κρόκον* in connection with the immediate context (line 427 *κρόκον*), replaced the true reading. If this hypothesis is sound, we have a wide field for conjecture as to what words are here to be restored. Still we may reasonably hold that the displaced words were not very dissimilar to the gloss itself. Hermann's emendation *αἰπὺν δόλον* not only satisfies this requirement, but is also supported by the similar verse at the beginning of our poem (vs. 8) :

νάρκισσόν θ', ὃν φῦσε δόλον καλυκώπιδι κούρη.

With his emendation then we have :

νάρκισσόν θ', ὃν ἔφυσ' αἰπὺν δόλον εἰρεῖα χθών.

For *αἰπὺν δόλον* we may compare 4, 66. Baumeister had independently made the same conjecture and adduces in its support Hesiod, *Theog.* 589. To these passages I add Hesiod, *Op.* 83, and Apollonius Rhodius, 4, 7.

Hymn to Apollo, vss. 56-60 :

*αἱ δέ κ' Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκαέργον νηὸν ἔχρησθα,
ἄνθρωποί τοι πάντες ἀγνήσουσ' ἐκατόμβας
ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρόμενοι, κνίσση δέ τοι ἄσπετος αἰεὶ*

χειρὸς ἀπ' ἀλλοτρίης, ἐπεὶ οὗ τοι πῖαρ ὑπ' οὐδας.

The manuscript readings for line 59 may be roughly represented by the following formula :

$\begin{array}{c} \mu \\ \delta\eta\rho\omicron\nu\ \alpha\nu\alpha\overset{\xi}{\kappa\tau}\epsilon\iota\ \beta\omicron\sigma\kappa\overset{\omicron\iota}{\epsilon\iota}\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\alpha\varsigma \\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon \end{array} \text{σεχ}\omega\sigma\iota\nu$

Before the discovery of cod. x Estensis, emendation was based on the reading *θεοικε*. This manuscript, however, gives us the letters

¹ See Baumeister, ed. maior, p. 9 (on I, 172), and Gemoll, p. 7 (*H. to Apoll.* 151).

περίτας. Hollander¹ has ingeniously conjectured that the περίτας is merely a scribe's statement that about six letters (περὶ τὰς) were missing at this point in the manuscript that he was copying, and the corruption at the end of this line does, in fact, seem to be located in the six letters *θειοικε*, although in two manuscripts of less importance (Γ *man. sec.* and J) these six are replaced by respectively nine (*θντας οικε*) and ten (*δηρα θειοικε*) letters. If περίτας is not to be explained in this way, it may represent some form of the adjective *περισσός* or *περιττός*. I hesitate to add to the many conjectures that have been offered several of my own, although they follow new lines. *E.g.*:

κνίσση δέ τοι ἄσπετος εἶσιν
μήρων ἕξ ἀνακὰς βοσκαί τε περισσαὶ ἔωσιν
χειρὸς ἀπ' ἄλλοτρύης.

We might write either *μήρων* (cf. *Iliad*, I, 464; *Od.* 13, 26; Aristophanes, *Peace*, 1088) or *μηρών* (cf. Sophocles, *Antig.* 1008 with 1011).

We find a somewhat similar passage in Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1517:

οὐδὲ κνίσσα μηρίων ἄπο
ἀνήλθεν.

Cf. also *Iliad*, 8, 549.

The word *ἀνακάς* (or *ἀνεκάς*, see Hesych. *s. v.* Ἄνακας) would be more likely to cause error than the commoner words *ἀναίξει*, *αἰΐξει*, etc., which have been proposed (cf. Pindar, *Ol.* 2, 38, and Suidas *s. v.* ἀνεκάς). The use of *βοσκαί* here may be illustrated by Aeschylus, *Eum.* 266, Hesychius, *s. v.* βοσκή, and Aristotle, *H. A.* 9, 40, 624 a, 27. The adjective *περισσαί* is similarly used in Hesiod, *Theog.* 399; and Athenaeus, 12, 521 C, has *βρώμα . . . περιττόν*.

In connection with the meaning of these verses we should read lines 53-55:

ἄλλος δ' οὐτίς σείο ποθ' ἄψεται οὐδέ σε τίσει,
οὐδ' εὖβων σε ἔσεσθαι δίομαι οὐτ' εὖμηλον,
οὐδὲ τρύγην πολλήν, οὐτ' ἄρ φυτὰ μυρία φύσεις.

Here an opposite fate is threatened, and we may compare the promise in vss. 56-60, as emended above, that the savor of burning thighs will

¹ Gemoll, p. 131.

go up in abundance and they will have bountiful support at the hands of visiting worshippers, with the like promise made by Apollo to the Cretan sailors (lines 528–539), from which only verses 536–539 need be cited :

τὰ δ' ἄφθονα πάντα παρέσται,
 ὅσσα ἐμοί κ' ἀγάγωσι περικλυτὰ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων.
 νηὸν δὲ προφύλαχθε, δέδεχθε δὲ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων,
 ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρομένων.

Finally, something a little simpler may be proposed for this desperate line :

κνίσση δέ τοι ἄσπετος αἰεὶ
 μῆρων ἔξ εἰσιν βосκαί τε περισσαὶ ἔωσιν
 χειρὸς ἀπ' ἀλλοτρίης,

where possibly ἔξεισιν might be substituted to advantage.

In the Hymn to the Delphian Apollo we have the following passage :

493 (315) ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν ἱεροειδέϊ πόντῳ
 494 (316) εἰδόμενος δελφίνι θοῆς ἐπὶ νηὸς ὄρουσα,
 495 (317) ὥς ἐμοὶ εὐχεσθαι δελφινίῳ· αὐτὰρ ὁ βωμὸς
 496 (318) αὐτὸς δέλφειος καὶ ἐπόπιος ἔσσεται αἰεὶ.

In verse 496 the manuscripts give us, M δελφίνιος, DAOPQ δέλφιος, the others δέλφειος. A change of quantity in the first ι of δελφίνιος would be surprising—cf. δελφῖνι (494) and δελφινίῳ (495)—and none of these adjectives seems natural with ἐπόπιος. Of the emendations, some depart too widely from the manuscript tradition (Preller conjectures αὐτοῦ δὴ λιπαρός, Baumeister, αὐτοῦ τηλεφανής), while the adjective ἀφνειός which Ilgen (αὐτόθι ἀφνειός) and Hermann (αὐτίκ' ἄρ' ἀφνειός) use is hardly applicable to the altar.

Palaeographically it would be only a slight change to read :

αὐτόδιον φίλιος καὶ ἐπόπιος ἔσσεται αἰεὶ.

Words compounded with αὐτο- as well as αὐτός itself are a frequent source of trouble in manuscripts. See the commentators on 2, 371 ; 2, 412 ; 3, 337 ; 4, 234 ; 4, 406 ; 7, 22. Compared with such com-

pounds as αὐτόθεν, αὐτίκα, παραντίκα, and πάραντα, the word αὐτόδιον¹ is rare and might easily become corrupted. It occurs in the *Odyssey*, 8, 449 :

αὐτόδιον δ' ἄρα μιν ταμίη λούσασθαι ἀνώγει
ἔς ῥ' ἀσάμυνθον βάνθ'.

For the use of φίλιος two passages from Aeschylus might be cited, *Suppl.* 542 (533) and *Choeph.* 715 (719).

It might well be said of the altar at Delphi that it would be 'dear from the beginning and famous forever'.

Further on in this hymn we find another difficult place :

538 (360) νηὸν δὲ προφύλαχθε, δέδεχθε δὲ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων
539 (361) ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρομένων † καὶ ἐμὴν ἰθύν τε μάλιστα.
540 (362) ἥέ τι τηύσιον ἔπος ἔσσεται ἥέ τι ἔργον,
541 (363) ὕβρις θ', ἣ θέμις ἐστὶ καταθητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
542 (364) ἄλλοι ἔπειθ' ὑμῖν σημάτωντορες ἄνδρες ἔσονται,
543 (365) τῶν ὑπ' ἀναγκαίῃ δεδμήσεσθ' ἥματα πάντα.

In connection with the admonition expressed in the last lines of this passage, I have at times thought that something like

καὶ μὴ ἰθύνετ' ἄλιστοι
or καὶ μὴ εὐθύνετ' ἄλιστοι

may once have formed the close of line 539 : 'be not inexorable in the administration of affairs,' 'be not high-handed in your dealings with the men who gather here.' In Demosth. *contra Mid.*, p. 531, § 52, in the second verse of the oracle we find ἰθύνεθ' ἑορτάς, in Callimachus, *Hymn to Zeus*, 83, λαὸν . . . ἰθύνουσιν, and the form ἴθον' in a different sense in line 421 of our own hymn. In Soph. *Antig.* 178, occurs εὐθύνων πόλιν, in Eurip. *Hec.* 8, λαὸν εὐθύνων. Metrically, too, such a collocation as μὴ ἰθύνετ' may be paralleled many times in the hymns (cf. 3, 16 ; 7, 24). I may, however, be putting too much strain upon the adjective ἄλιστος. In our hymns it occurs in a different sense,

¹ Cf. the use of *e vestigio* in Latin. Cicero, *Div. in Caecil.* 57; *Sulp.* letter in Cic. *ad Fam.* 4, 12, 2; Eustathius, 1605, 9 and 1562, 37.

4, 168, and the nearest parallel that I can get is in the *Anthol. Pal.* 7, 643, 3, ἤρπασας, ὧ ἄλλιστ' Ἀΐδη (cf. *Anthol. Pal.* 7, 483).¹

It is palaeographically tempting to change only the order of the letters and read :

καὶ ἐμὴν ἰθὺν μάλα τ' ἴστε,

but I doubt if such a use of *τε* could be justified.² Scarcely more of a change would be καὶ ἐμὴν ἰθὺν μάλα γ' ἴστε, in which *μάλα* is used much as in verse 502 and in the *Odyssey*, 6, 319; 'and know well my will and purpose' says Apollo. The word *ἰθύν* is defined by Hesychius, 759, 20 (Schmidt), to mean ὀρθόν, φρόνησιν, τρόπον, ὁρμήν, βούλησιν, διάνοιαν, and appears in the *Odyssey*, 16, 304 :

ἀλλ' οἷοι σύ τ' ἐγὼ τε γυναικῶν γνώομεν ἰθύν.

In the immediately following warning of Apollo (verses 540–544) Baumeister and others adopt the simple correction of εἰ δέ τι (line 540) for the ἡέτ', ἡ έτι, or ἡ έτι of the manuscripts. The still simpler change to ἡέ τι seems impossible unless we assume a lacuna here or make some radical change in the text.

In a passage in the Hymn to Hermes

- 82 τῶν τότε συνδήσας νεοθηλέος ἄγκαλον ὕλης,
 83 εὐλαβέως ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο σάνδαλα κοῦφα
 84 αὐτοῖσιν πετάλοισι, τὰ κύδιμος Ἀργειφόντης
 85 ἔσπασε Πιερίηθεν ὁδοιπορίην ἀλεείνων
 86 οἶά τ' ἐπειγόμενος δολιχὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοτροπήσας,

the end at least of line 86 is corrupt—where the manuscripts give αὐτοτροπήσας M, Paris., αὐτοπρεπής ὥς DLII ed. pr., αὐτοτροπήσας ὥς E, γρ. αὐτοτροπήσας the margin of L, and αὐτοτροπήσας the margin of II. The many emendations offered cannot be discussed here. If the beginning of line 86 is corrupt, as has been thought, the sentence

¹ One might think of *θητέετ'* *δλιστοι* in connection with *Anthol. Pal.* 5, 293, 12, and in our poem verse 530, καὶ ἄμ' ἀνθρώποισιν δηγδεῖν.

² In the *Hymns*, 4, 133, καὶ τε μάλ' ἱμείροντι occurs, but there and in Homer, *Il.* 1, 521 and 24, 456, we have a different usage.

may have begun with ὁδοιπορίην δ' ἀλέεινεν|οἴκαδ'¹ ἐπειγόμενος (Plato, *Theaet.* 142 C, ἡπείγετο οἴκαδε). The words ὁδοιπορίην δ' ἀλέεινεν would mean 'he avoided travelling by the highway' — that is, Hermes drove the cattle through the fields (cf. line 88) to escape observation. For this meaning of ὁδός in composition, we may compare other compounds such as ὁδοιδόκος, ὁδοιδοκέω, etc.

I had also thought of reading ὁδοιπορίην δ' ἀλεείνων and replacing the οἶά τ' of the manuscripts by σεύατ' or ἔσσυτ'², the former of which I have since found to be a conjecture of Ludwich (*Berlin. Phil. Wochenschr.*, 1886, p. 807). In the *Iliad*, 6. 705 we have a line beginning σεύατ' ἔπειτ', and in our hymns 5, 66 and 2, 43. Most noteworthy, however, in this connection is the verse in the *Odyssey*, 19, 448, ἔσσυτ' ἀνασχόμενος δολιχὸν δόρυ χειρὶ παχείῃ.

Finally, the manuscript reading αὐτοπρεπῆς ὥς suggests the slight change to ἡπεροπεύς ὥς or ἡπεροπεύς φῶς (φῶς being a favorite word with the author of this hymn, cf. verses 66, 195, 265, 284, 377, and *Od.* 1, 324) which find support in passages in this hymn :

282 ὦ πέπον, ἡπεροπευτά, δολοφραδές, ἦ σε μάλ' οἶω
and 577 παῦρα μὲν οὖν δνίγησι, τὸ δ' ἄκριτον ἡπεροπεύει
νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην φύλα θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

To these may be added the lines in the 11th book of the *Odyssey* :

363 ὦ Οδυσσεύ, τὸ μὲν οὐ τί σ' εἰσκομεν εἰσορόωντες
ἡπεροπῆά τ' ἔμεν καὶ ἐπύκλοπον οἶά τε πολλοὺς
βόσκει γαῖα μέλαινα πολυσπερέας ἀνθρώπους
ψεύδεά τ' ἀρτύνοντας ὅθεν κέ τις οὐδὲ ἴδοιτο.

Cf. Apollonius Rhodius, 3, 617.

In the Hymn to Hermes, 151-153,

σπάργανον ἀμφ' ὦμοις εἰλυμένος, ἥντε τέκνον
νήπιον ἐν παλάμῃσι παρ' ἰγνύσι λαΐφος ἀθύρων,
κεῖτο, χέλυν ἐρατὴν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρὸς ἐργων,

¹ For οἴκαδ' the word οἶκον might be suggested, as more likely to have caused an error (cf. *Odyssey*, 14, 167 and 23, 27).

² The verb occurs in our hymns 4, 299; 2, 287.

verse 152 offers a grammatical impossibility, *λαῖφος ἀθύρων*. Before an attempt is made to correct these words, an examination of the part that the swaddling bands play in this hymn is advisable. In the case of this young god these clothes are apparently loose and ample, for on Apollo's entrance into the cave we are told that Hermes 'retired within his fragrant swaddling bands':

- 237 σπάργαν' ἔσω κατέδυε θυήεντ'· ἥύτε πολλὴν
 238 πρέμνων ἀνθρακὴν ὕλης σποδὸς ἀμφικαλύπτει,
 239 ὥς Ἑρμῆς Ἑκάεργον ἰδὼν ἀνέειλε ἔ' αὐτόν.
 240 ἐν δ' ὀλίγῳ συνέλασσε κάρη χεῖράς τε πόδας τε,
 241 † θῆρα νέον λοχάων, προκαλούμενος ἧδ' ὕμνον ὕπνον
 242 ἐγρήσων ἐτεόν γε· χέλυν δ' ὑπὸ μασχάλῃ εἶχεν.

But the *σπάργανα* did not serve Hermes merely as a safe retreat on the approach of danger. In the last line we have mention of the lyre, the importance of which in the story has been first fully noted in the edition of Gemoll. Here Hermes hides it under his armpit, and in verses

- 305 ἄμφω δὲ παρ' οὐατα χερσὶν ἐώθει
 306 σπάργανον ἀμφ' ὥμοισιν ἐελμένον, εἶπε δὲ μῦθον,

he pushes his clothing up round his ears, and in

- 388 καὶ τὸ σπάργανον εἶχεν ἐπ' ὠλένη οὐδ' ἀπέβαλλε,

in the presence of Zeus, he keeps it wrapped round his arm for no other purpose, I am sure, than to conceal more effectually the lyre on which his ultimate safety depends. In

- 266 οὐτ' ἐμὸν ἔργον τοῦτο, πάρος δέ μοι ἄλλα μέμηλεν·
 267 ὕπνος ἔμοιγε μέμηλε καὶ ἡμετέρης γάλα μητρός,
 268 σπάργανά τ' ἀμφ' ὥμοισιν ἔχειν καὶ θερμὰ λοετρὰ,

the full humor has perhaps escaped the commentators. To keep his armpit well covered was, indeed, one of the vital cares of Hermes' young life.

To return now to lines 150 ff., I think that this precocious baby was groping with his hands for the clothing round his knees when his mother discovered that he had returned to his crib. Therefore, I propose the following reading¹ for these verses:

¹ The reading *περιγύσι* of the better MSS. might be taken as an indication of an original *νήπιον ἐν παλάμῃς περὶ ἰγνύσι*.

- 150 ἐσσυμένως δ' ἄρα λίκνον ἐπόχετο κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς,
 151 σπάργανον ἀμφ' ὤμοις εἰλυμένος, ἥύτε τέκνον
 152 νήπιον ἐν παλάμῃσι παρ' ἰγνύσι λαίφρα θηρῶν¹
 153 κέιτο, χέλυν ἐρατὴν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρὸς ἐέργων,
 154 μητέρα δ' οὐκ ἄρ' ἔληθε θεὰν θεός, εἶπέ τε μῦθον·

In connection with this passage line 241 is of interest :

- 240 ἐν δ' ὀλίγῳ συνέλασσε κάρη χεῖράς τε πόδας τε,
 241 † θῆρα νέον λοχάων, προκαλούμενος ἦδυμον ὕπνον
 242 ἐργήσων ἐτεόν γε·

I incline to agree with Gemoll that the νεόλλουτος which appears in the text of our mss. is merely a scribe's² correction, and we have to depend here as in 288 on a marginal reading. What θῆρα νέον λοχάων represents, is, however, a mystery. I have at times fancied that the line may have once begun θηρῶν ὃν λαῖφος. If some knowing scribe, wishing to express the fact that Hermes' swaddling clothes served as a sort of ambush, inserted a gloss ἐὼν λοχέον over the words ὃν λαῖφος, ($\left(\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ἐὼν λοχέον} \\ \text{θηρῶν ὃν λαῖφος} \end{smallmatrix} \right)$) the combination might eventually have given rise by the common process of substitution³ to θῆρα νέον λοχάων (λοχεύων in Π). Still a knowledge of the Hesiodic⁴ word λοχέος is perhaps too much to ascribe to the writer of our archetype.

Again, in the Hymn to Hermes, we read :

- 185 αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων
 186 Ὀρχηστὸνδ' ἀφίκανε κιών, πολυήρατον ἄλσος
 187 ἀγνὸν ἐρισφαράγον Γαιήοχον· ἐνθα γέροντα
 188 κνώδαλον εὔρε νέμοντα παρ' ἐξ ὁδοῦ ἔρκος ἀλωῆς·

Gemoll's change of κνώδαλον to κνωδάλφ is easy, but does not give a satisfactory meaning to the line.

¹ The vowels η and υ are constantly interchanged; cf. 3, 519; 4, 565. For θηρῶν cf. Lucian, *Dial. Mar.* 2, 3, § 293.

² In the light of verse 406 we might have looked for a νεογνὸς ἐὼν from him.

³ Cf. mss. at 4, 254; 4, 360.

⁴ Hesiod, *Theog.* 178.

The word is normally employed for wild beasts or for animals as yet unbroken to the service of man¹. Here, however, there can be no connotation of ferocity, and one might well ask why in 'grassy' Onchestos the old man is feeding his cow on a hedge. Now a consideration of the epithet *βατοδρόπε* points to a simple emendation. I believe that the old man was building a hedge of thorns, and I would read here *σκώλους*. This word, similarly to the Latin *sudis*, means not only 'stakes', but also 'thorn branches'. Cf. *Iliad*, 13, 564 :

καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ μείν' ὥς τε σκῶλος πυρίκανστος
ἐν σάκει Ἀντιλόχοιο, τὸ δ' ἤμισυ κείτ' ἐπὶ γαίης.

Aristophanes, *Lys.* 809 :

Τίμων ἦν τις αἰδρυτος ἀβάτοισιν ἐν
σκώλοισι τὰ πρόσωπα περιειργμένος
Ἐρινύος ἀπορρώξ.

Or. this we have the explanation of the scholiast (Rutherford's ed., II, 216), ἐν σκώλοισι οἷον ἀκάνθαις τετριγχωμένος σκληρός; and in Hesychius and Suidas a definition of σκῶλος as ἀκάνθης εἶδος. The verb *νέμειν* seems² to be properly used here for the construction of a hedge out of its component parts, and perhaps the easy change to *δέμοντα* is not necessary. With this passage should be compared *Odyssey*, 18, 359, but especially 24, 223 ff., where there are striking resemblances to our lines :

ἀλλ' ἄρα τοί γε
αἱμασιᾶς λέξοντες ἀλωῆς ἔμμεναι ἔρκος
ῥῥοντ', αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι γέρων ὁδὸν ἡγεμόνευε
τὸν δ' οἶον πατέρ' εἶρεν εὐκτιμένη ἐν ἀλωῇ
λιστρεύοντα φυτόν· ῥυπώοντα δὲ ἔστο χιτῶνα
ῥαπτὸν ἀεικέλιον, περὶ δὲ κνήμησι βοείας
κνημίδας ῥαπτὰς δέδετο, γραπτῶς ἀλειίνων
χειρὶδās τ' ἐπὶ χερσὶ βάτων ἔνεκ'.

¹ As indeed in the very passage from Aeschylus which Gemoll cites: *Prom.* 478 (462).

² Cf. Matth. ed. of the Homeric hymns, p. 253.

the word *αἰμασιᾶς* is, to be sure, of disputed meaning. Ameis, in his notes on this passage (p. 182), renders it 'Dornsträuche,' cf. Nicander, *Ther.* 143, with the paraphrase of Eutechnius of this line, p. 222, 27 (Dübner).

Hymn to Hermes :

- 322 αἶψα δὲ τέρθρον ἱκοντο θνώδεος Οὐλύμποιο
 323 ἐς πατέρα Κρονίωνα Διὸς περικαλλέα τέκνα·
 324 κείθι γὰρ ἀμφοτέροισι δίκης κατέκειτο τάλαντα.
 325 εὐμυλίῃ δ' ἔχ' Ὀλυμπον ἀγάννιφον, ἀθάνατοι δὲ
 326 ἄφθιτοι ἡγέρεθοντο μετὰ χρυσόθρονον ἡῶ.

An examination of the whole scene here leads me to propose a new emendation for the corrupt word *εὐμυλίῃ* in line 325, which is perhaps due to *αἰμυλίοισι*, line 317.

Apollo and Hermes have arrived at the summit of Olympus where are, as the poet tells us, the scales of justice for them both. Olympus becomes a tribunal, where in the presence of the other immortals the two gods plead their case in turn¹. In view then of this stress laid upon law and order, we might look for some such expression as this :

*εὐνομίῃ δ' ἔχ' Ὀλυμπον ἀγάννιφον.*²

The word *εὐνομίῃ* occurs not only in our hymns, 30, 11, but also in the *Odyssey*, 17, 487. For the meaning one might adduce Aristotle, *Pol.* 4, 8, and Soph. *O. T.* 867.

Hymn to Hermes :

- 409 ὧς ἄρ' ἔφη, καὶ χερσὶ περίστρεφε καρτερὰ δεσμὰ
 410 ἀγνου· ταὶ δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ κατὰ χθονὸς αἶψα φύοντο
 411 αὐτόθεν, ἐμβολάδην ἐστραμμέναι ἀλλήλῃσι,
 412 ρεῖά τε καὶ πάσῃσιν ἐπ' ἀγρὰνλοισι βόεσσιν,
 413 Ἑρμέω βουλῇσι κλειψίφρονος· αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων

¹ Cf. 333 and 365-366.

² There is a curious verbal similarity in Apollonius Rhodius, 1, 503 ff. Note that as a personification Eunomia was one of the Horae, whose duties on Olympus are described in the *Iliad*, 5, 749; cf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 902.

- 414 θαύμασεν ἀθρήσας. τότε δὴ κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης
 415 χῶρον ὑποβλήδην ἐσκέψατο, πύκν' ἀμαρύνσων,
 416 ἐγκρύψαι μεμαώς· Λητοῦς δ' ἐρικυδέος νιδὼν
 417 ῥεῖα μάλ' ἐπρήνυν ἐκηβόλον, ὥς ἔθελ' αὐτός,
 418 καὶ κρατερόν περ ἔοντα· λαβὼν δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρὸς
 419 πλήκτρῳ ἐπειρήτιζε κατὰ μέρος.

The difficulties of these verses have been attacked in many ways; several lacunae have been assumed, the order of the verses has been changed, words have been altered and even expelled altogether from the text.

The first trouble comes in line 410, where in prose we should expect after δεσμὰ ἄγνου the neuter τὰ δ' rather than ταὶ δ'. Franke has emended to ἄγνων, but in view of such places as 2, 456,

πέδῳ δ' ἄρα πίονες ὄγμοι
 βρισμένῃ ἀσταχύων, τὰ δ' ἑλλεδανοῖσι δεδέσθαι

I am not at all sure that we should not keep ἄγνου and supply from it the necessary ἄγνοι for the following ταὶ δ'. Just as the similar word λύγος in the singular signifies the tree, and in the plural the branches of the tree, so ἄγνος is the willow, ἄγνοι the willow twigs. Compare Eustathius, 834, 37, ἐπεὶ ὁ λύγος καὶ ἄγνος καλεῖται οἰονεὶ ἄγονος with the use of λύγοι in our hymns, 7, 13:

τὸν δ' οὐκ ἴσχανε δεσμά, λύγοι δ' ἀπὸ τηλόσε πίπτον.

Much more troublesome is the question whether the withies were put upon the cattle, or on Hermes, or, as it seems to me, on neither. Although they may have been intended for Hermes, the text merely states that Apollo was weaving strong bonds of willow. These suddenly took root under the feet of Apollo, spreading rapidly and entwining as they grew as if grafted¹ upon one another. In the following line (412) by the change of a single letter I hope to make the whole passage clear. I propose to read ὑπ' for ἐπ', illustrating the common confusion of these letters in the prepositions by 30, 3, where we find in D and ed. pr. *ὑπέρχεται*, in Π *ἀπέρχεται*, in the others *ἐπέρχεται*. The withies then

¹ Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* 2, 640 B.

grew up spontaneously also under all the cattle, so that Apollo, finding both himself and his cattle caught in a tangled brake, stood dumfounded at the miracle. Whether ἐγκρύψαι in line 416 can by itself mean 'hide himself' may be doubted, although one might adduce a disputed passage in Thucydides in its support, 5, 65, 6: εἴτα ἐπειδὴ ἀναχωροῦντες ἐκείνοί τε ἀπέκρυψαν καὶ σφέϊς ἡσύχαζον καὶ οὐκ ἐπηκολούθουν. At any rate, the transition from the miracle to playing the lyre is abrupt, and it is generally agreed that there must be a lacuna either after μεμαώς or below after ἐόντα. Apparently Hermes sought to take advantage of Apollo's astonishment and hide himself in the thicket of his own creation. Then came the climax of the story. Hermes drew the long-hidden lyre from his armpit where he had kept it for just this emergency¹, and by its sweet music soothed the wrath of the now thoroughly incensed Apollo, so that in the verses following the lacuna we find him restored to amiability. Finally, in connection with this miracle of the thicket, attention may be called to the similar miracles in 7, 11 ff., and 7, 34 ff.

Hymn to Hermes :

425 τάχα δὲ λιγέως κιθαρίζων
426 γηρύετ' ἀμβολάδην, ἐρατὴ δὲ οἱ ἔσπετο φωνή,
427 κραίων ἀθανάτους τε θεούς, καὶ γαῖαν ἐρεμνὴν,
428 ὥς τὰ πρῶτα γέγοντο καὶ ὥς λάχε μοῖραν ἔκαστος.

Grave doubts have been cast upon the word κραίων in verse 427, the only justification for which in the meaning 'honoring' is the statement in Hesychius κραίνειν· τιμᾶν, κραίνουσι· τιμῶσι. Accordingly, a considerable number of conjectures have been offered of which the more commonly accepted seems to be κλείων. Diplomatically easy, and yet, from its having a less common metaphorical meaning, more liable to change would be αἶρων. The verb αἶρειν like δρθόειν² sometimes means 'to celebrate'.

Aristoph. *Frogs*, 377 :

χῶπως ἀρεῖς τὴν Σώτειραν γενναίως τῇ φωνῇ μολπάζων.

¹ Boissonade, *Anecd. Gr.* IV, 459; *Schol.* Dionys. Thrax in Bekker's *Anecd. I*, 752.

² Pindar, *Pyth.* 4, 106; *Nem.* 1, 21.

Eurip. *Her.* 320 :

ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ζῶν καὶ θανὼν ὅταν θάνω
πολλῷ σ' ἐπαίνῳ Θησέως, ὦ τᾶν, πέλας
ὑψηλὸν ἄρῳ καὶ λέγων τάδ' εὐφρανῶ.

Hymn to Hermes :

447 τίς τέχνη, τίς μοῦσα ἀμηχανέων μελεδόνων,
448 τίς τρίβος; ἀτρεκέως γὰρ ἅμα τρία πάντα πάρεστιν,
449 εὐφροσύνην καὶ ἔρωτα καὶ ἥδυμον ὕπνον ἐλέσθαι.

In verse 447 not only the unexampled form ἀμηχανέων meets us, but we may also suspect such a combination as μοῦσα . . . μελεδόνων in the ordinarily simple language of our hymns. The word μελεδόνων itself should not, however, be tampered with. We find it in 3, 532, and in some passages that set forth the power of wine; Kinkel's *Ep. Gr. Fr.* p. 27, 10, from Athen. 2, 35 C :

οἶνόν τοι Μενέλαε, θεοὶ ποίησαν ἄριστον
θηγοῖς ἀνθρώποισιν ἀποσκεδάσαι μελεδῶνας.

Theognis, 883 :

τοῦ πίνων ἀπὸ μὲν χαλεπὰς σκεδάσεις μελεδῶνας.

Noting the frequency with which the verb παύειν and its compounds are used with such words as μελεδῶνες, it has occurred to me that τίς μοῦσα may represent an original παύουσα. The letter π might readily become corrupted to a τ and the αν become σμ. We find in the *Iliad*, 4, 191 :

φάρμαχ' ἃ κεν παύσῃσι μελαινάων ὀδυνάων;

in the *Odyssey*, 4, 34 :

αἶ κέ ποθι Ζεὺς | ἐξοπίσω περ παύσῃ ὀϊζύος·

in Bacchyl. 5, 6 :

φρένα δ' εὐθύδικον
ἀτρέμ' ἀμπαύσας μεριμνᾶν,

and elsewhere in Bacchylides similar combinations.

Whether the word ἀμηχανέων is due to the common adjective ἀμήχανος (cf. verse 434) being present in the mind of the scribe, cannot be

determined. Perhaps some form of the adjective *μηχανικός* once stood here. Apollo who was able to play (499–502) the newly invented lyre as soon as he took it into his hand might be called *μηχανικός*. So, too, might Hermes, to whom indeed the epithet *μηχανιώτης* has been applied in verse 436.

We might conjecture then for line 447 :

τίς τέχνη παύουσ' ἀνὰ μηχανικοὺς μελεδόνων.¹

The *μηχανικοί* would be such as the author of this hymn describes at some length in verses 482 ff. :

ὅστις ἂν αὐτὴν
τέχνη καὶ σοφίῃ δεδαημένος ἐξερεΐνῃ
φθεγγομένη παντοῖα νόψ' χαρίεντα διδάσκει,
ρεῖα συνηθείησιν ἀθυρομένη μαλακῆσιν,
ἐργασίην φεύγουσα δυήπαθον· ὅς δέ κεν αὐτὴν
νῆις ἐὼν τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιζαφελῶς ἐρεΐνῃ,
μὰψ' αὐτῶς κεν ἔπειτα μετήγορά τε θρυλλίζοι.
σοὶ δ' αὐτάγρετόν ἐστι δαήμεναι, ὅττι μενοινᾷς.

Important in connection with the power of music to dispel care are the passages that follow.

Hesiod, *Theog.* 98 :

εἰ γάρ τις καὶ πένθος ἔχων νεοκηδέϊ θυμῷ
ἄλγεται κ'ραδίην ἀκαχήμενος, αὐτὰρ ἀοιδὸς
Μουσάων θεράπων κλεῖα προτέρων ἀνθρώπων
ὑμνήσῃ, μάκαράς τε θεούς, οἳ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν
αἰψ' ὅγε δυσφρονέων ἐπιλήθεται, οὐδέ τι κηδέων
μέμνηται· ταχέως δὲ παρέτραπε δῶρα θεῶν.

Eurip. *Med.* 195 :

στρυγίους δὲ βροτῶν οὐδέϊς λύπας
ἠῦρετο μούσῃ καὶ πολυχόρδοις
ψδαῖς παύειν, ἐξ ὧν θάνατοι
δειναί τε τύχαι σφάλλουσι δόμους.

¹ Closer still to the manuscript tradition would be

τίς τέχνη παύουσ' ἀνὰ μηχανικὸν μελεδόνων,

where *παύουσ'* ἀνὰ has its parallel in the *Iliad*, 7, 425. Still the order of the words is rather hard.

Finally, the corruption in this line may be limited entirely to the adjective ἀμυχανέων, which perhaps represents an original κακῶν μῆχος.

The line as thus restored

τίς τέχνη τίς μοῦσα κακῶν μῆχος μελεδώνων

finds support in such passages as Eurip. *Androm.* 535 :

ἄ μοι μοι τί δ' ἐγὼ κακῶν
μῆχος ἐξανύσωμαι;

Theocrit. 2, 95 :

εἰ δ' ἄγε Θεότυλί μοι χαλεπᾶς νόσω εὐρέ τι μᾶχος,

Herodotus, 2, 181 :

τοῦτο γάρ οἱ κακοῦ εἶναι μῆχος.

The word μῆχος is used by Homer (with another meaning, to be sure) in the *Iliad*, 2, 342.

Hymn to Hermes :

523 αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων
524 Λητοίδης κατένευσεν ἐπ' ἄρθμῳ καὶ φιλότῃτι,
525 μὴ τινα φίλτερον ἄλλον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔσεσθαι,
526 μῆτε θεὸν μῆτ' ἄνδρα Διὸς γόνον· † ἐκ δὲ τέλειον
527 † σύμβολον ἀθανάτων ποιήσομαι ἥδ' ἅμα πάντων,
528 πιστὸν ἐμῷ θυμῷ καὶ τίμιον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
529 ὄλβον καὶ πλούτου δώσω περικαλλέα ῥάβδον,
530 χρυσεῖην, τριπέτηλον, ἀκήριον ἧ σε φυλάξει.

Although an attempt has been made to keep the manuscript reading σύμβολον in line 527, no support can be found for the meaning assigned the word, 'mediator', 'transactor'. The thought has come to me that σύμβολον originally stood as a marginal gloss on ὄλβον καὶ πλούτου . . . ῥάβδον to signify that the ῥάβδος was one of the insignia of Hermes. This word might easily replace some word of similar form at the beginning of line 527. Accordingly, adopting Schneidewin's¹

¹ Schneidewin, *Phil.* III (1848), p. 694. The asyndeton is easily paralleled, cf. e. g. *Iliad*, 16, 801 ff.

correction of ἐκ δὲ το ῆ σε, I propose to read :

ῆ σε τέλειον
ὄλβιον ἀθανάτων ποιήσομαι ἥδ' ἅμα πάντων
πιστὸν ἐμῷ θυμῷ καὶ τίμιον.

The passage would then closely correspond to verses 460–461 :

ναὶ μὰ τόδε κραίῃνον ἀκόντιον, ῆ μὲν ἐγὼ σε
κυδρὸν ἐν ἀθανάτοισι καὶ ὄλβιον ἡγεμονεύσω.

In 379 Hermes says :

ὥς οὐκ οἴκαδ' ἔλασσα βόας, ὥς ὄλβιος εἶην.

In 7, 53 we find :

κυβερνήτην δ' ἐλεήσας
ἔσχεθε καὶ μιν ἔθηκε πανόλβιον.

The adjectives τέλειος and ὄλβιος are frequently used in connection with the gods. Aeschylus, *Eumen.* 27 :

καὶ Ποσειδῶνος κράτος
καλοῦσα καὶ τέλειον ὕψιστον Δία.

Both occur in the same line in the *Supplices*, 535 (526).

If this emendation is accepted, we no longer have any reason to change the ἥδ' ἅμα πάντων of line 527. Apollo promises to make Hermes not only blessed among the immortals, but also of all, both gods and men, his trusted, honored friend. Finally, instead of changing ἐκ δὲ το ῆ σε, verse 462 (δώσω τ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα καὶ ἐς τέλος οὐκ ἀπατήσω) and Hes. *Op.* 294, would suggest the following correction :

ἐς δὲ τέλος σε
ὄλβιον ἀθανάτων ποιήσομαι.

528	αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
529	ὄλβου καὶ πλούτου δώσω περικαλλέα ῥάβδον,
530	χρυσείην, τριπέτηλον, ἀκήριον ῆ σε φυλάξει,
531	πάντας ἐπικραίνουσα † θεοὺς ἐπέων τε καὶ ἔργων
532	τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅσα φημὶ δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὀμφῆς.

Possibly the corrupt κραίνων ἀθανάτους τε θεοὺς of verse 427 caused the use of θεοὺς in line 531. The commonly accepted emendation for

θεούς is Hermann's οἶμους¹. Slightly nearer, however, to the letters of the manuscripts, σαθεους, would be σα οδους (cf. σ' οίμους). Furthermore, while οἶμος goes excellently with such words as ἐπέων and αἰοδῆς, its use with ἔργων fails of the support that ὁδός has. In Pindar's Olympian ode, 8, 13, we read :

πολλαὶ δ' ὁδοὶ | σὺν θεοῖς εὐπραγίας ;

in *Ol.* 7, 48, we find *πραγμάτων ὀρθὰν ὁδόν* ; cf. *Pind. Ol.* 1, 110 ; *Nem.* 7, 51 ; *Fragm.* 68 ; *Aristoph. Peace*, 733 ; *Knights*, 1015 ; *Eurip. Phoen.* 911 ; *Soph. O. T.* 311 ; *Aeschyl. Ag.* 1154.

The use of ὁδός would, however, involve the change, slight though it is, of πάντας to πάντοσ' (cf. *Hom. Il.* 5, 508 ; *Apoll. Rhod.* 1, 437) :

πάντοσ' ἐπικραίνουσα ὁδοὺς ἐπέων τε καὶ ἔργων,

and therefore the following would be a simpler correction :

ἧ σε φυλάξει
πάντα σ' ἐπικραίνουσα θοῶς ἐπέων τε καὶ ἔργων
τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅσα φημὶ δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὁμφῆς.

The change of θεούς to θοῶς I had already happened upon before I saw that Bothe had conjectured

πάντ' ἂν ἐπικραίνουσα θοῶς.

We find σοὶ elided in Homer, cf. *Iliad*, 1, 170, and for its similarity we might adduce here a line from the *Odyssey*, 20, 115 :

κρήνον νῦν καὶ ἐμοὶ δειλῇ ἔπος ὅττι κεν εἴπω.

The use of πάντα knits the sentence leading up to ὅσα and its antecedent genitives.

Hymn to Pan :

- 12 πολλάκι δ' ἀργινέοντα διέδραμεν οὐρεα μακρά,
- 13 πολλάκι δ' ἐν κνημοῖσι διήλασε θήρας ἐναίρων,
- 14 δῆξία δερκόμενος· τότε δ' ἔσπερος ἔκλαγεν † οἶον
- 15 ἄγρης ἐξανιών, δονάκων ὑπο μούσαν ἀθύρων
- 16 νήδυμον.

¹ Hermann's ed., p. 82.

For οἶον the simple change to οἶος has found most favor, although it has been objected that Pan does not seem to have been alone, but on the contrary in the company of the nymphs (cf. verses 19-21 and 2-3). Might we not expect to find here mention of the place to which Pan goes after the toils of the chase? Compare a somewhat similar place in Hymn 27, 11 :

αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν τερφθῇ θηροσκόπος ἰοχέαιρα
εὐφρῆνῃ δὲ νόον, χαλάσας' εὐκαμπέα τόξα
ἔρχεται εἰς μέγα δῶμα κασιγνήτοιο φίλοιο.

Possibly the lines once read :

τότε δ' ἔσπερος ἔκλαγεν, οἶκον¹
ἄγρης ἐξανιών.

Finally a passage in the *Anthol. Plan.* 4, 226, is worth citing here :

ἔμπνει Πὰν λαροῖσιν ὄρειβάτα χεῖλεσι μοῦσαν
ἔμπνει, ποιμενίῳ τερπόμενος δόνακι,
εὐκελάδῳ σύριγγι χέων μέλος, ἐκ δὲ συνωδοῦ
κλάζει κατιθύνων ῥήματος ἁρμονίην
ἀμφὶ δὲ σοί, ῥυθμοῖο κατὰ κρότον, ἔνθεον ἵχνος
ῥησσέσθω Νύμφαις ταῖσδε μελνδριάσιν.

¹ The rarer construction of οἶκον could easily give rise to error. Cf. in the *Odyssey*, 23, 27, ἤλθ' 'Οδυσσεὺς καὶ οἶκον ἱκάνεταί ὡς ἀγορεύω. For the order cf. 29, 11-12, as restored by Baumeister, p. 82.